

On the Transmission of Iberian Polyphonic Music in the Early Decades of the Sixteenth Century: Some Philological Issues Revisited

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Resumo

Nos finais do século XV e nas primeiras décadas do século XVI as oportunidades para o intercâmbio musical entre Portugal e os vizinhos reinos de Espanha eram múltiplas e variadas. Como sucedia com os músicos, também os repertórios de música polifónica cruzavam a fronteira. O entendimento comum é que os manuscritos faziam uma viagem de sentido único, de Espanha para Portugal, e que as fontes portuguesas contêm versões muito afastadas dos exemplares espanhóis, resultado de transmissões únicas e tardias. Os estudos de caso que neste artigo se oferecem mostram um panorama diferente e mais complexo: que em alguns casos, a música chegou precocemente; que as versões nos manuscritos portugueses estão por vezes mais próximas dos seus arquétipos do que aquelas que sobrevivem nos manuscritos espanhóis; e que os padrões de transmissão do repertório não eram diferentes daqueles que se encontram em quaisquer outros lugares da Europa. Adicionalmente, propõe-se uma nova datação para o corpo original do manuscrito *P-Ln* CIC 60.

Palavras-chave

Filologia da música; Manuscritos e transmissão de música; Alterações deliberadas aos textos musicais; Variantes, versões e recomposições; Inícios do século XVI; Portugal e Espanha.

Abstract

In the late fifteenth century and the early decades of the sixteenth century, opportunities for musical exchange between Portugal and the Spanish kingdoms were multifarious. As with musicians, repertories of polyphonic music also travelled across the border. Our common understanding is that manuscripts made a one-way route from Spain to Portugal, and that Portuguese sources contain versions far removed from the Spanish exemplars, resulting from unique and often late transmissions. The case studies offered in this article show a different and more complex picture: that in some cases music arrived quite early; that versions in Portuguese sources are sometimes closer to their archetypes than those in most of the surviving Spanish manuscripts; and that the patterns of transmission were not different from those found elsewhere in Europe. Additionally, a new dating for the original layer of manuscript *P-Ln* CIC 60 is proposed.

Keywords

Philology of music; Manuscripts and music transmission; Deliberate changes in music texts; Variants, versions, and reworkings; Early sixteenth century; Portugal and Spain.

IN THE LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY AND THE EARLY DECADES of the sixteenth century, opportunities for musical and, more broadly, cultural exchanges between Portugal and Spain were multifarious. Several Spanish musicians, such as, for instance, the three Baena brothers, Gonzalo, Francisco and Diego, made their careers in the Portuguese court, and a number of Portuguese musicians, such as João de Coimbra and Pedro do Porto, worked in Castilian and Aragonese courtly and ecclesiastical institutions.¹ Repertories of polyphonic music also travelled across the border. Leaving aside the many anonymous pieces in Portuguese sources that may, or may not, be of local composition, our common understanding is that manuscripts made a one-way route from Spain to Portugal, and that Portuguese sources contain versions far removed from the Spanish exemplars, often resulting from late transmissions. However, as this article will show, in some cases music seem to have arrived quite early, and versions in Portuguese sources are closer to their archetypes than those in the surviving Spanish manuscripts.² Portuguese versions of a given piece—which tend to adopt distinguishing details of notation and specific equipollent readings possibly as the result of different scribal habits, their sources often functioning as a closed family grouping—thus correspond, through their exemplars, to a given version in one branch of the Spanish tradition, even if that version does not exist anymore.³

As in all processes of transmission, it is not infrequent in early Iberian polyphonic repertories, both sacred and secular, that the scribe or editor of a manuscript intentionally introduces changes, mostly unnecessary, into the text of a musical work, in order to adapt it to specific performing conditions, to adjust the musical syntax to a changing aesthetic paradigm and taste, or simply to

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¹ See, as the most recent and comprehensive overview of the subject, Bernadette NELSON, 'Music and Musicians at the Portuguese Royal Court and Chapel, c.1470-c.1500', in *Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs*, edited by Tess Knighton (Leiden - Boston, Brill, 2017), pp. 205-40, at pp. 228 n. 67, 238, and 240.

² Needless to say, no original of these repertories is known to exist. With a few exceptions, the Portuguese sources referred to are those originated in the Augustinian Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra mostly in the 1540s and 1550s; see Owen REES, *Polyphony in Portugal c. 1530-c. 1620: Sources from the Monastery of Santa Cruz, Coimbra* (New York - London, Garland, 1995), especially pp. 49-85. Full reproductions, descriptions, and indices of these manuscripts can be found in the *Portuguese Early Music Database* <<http://pemdatabase.eu/>>.

³ Emilio ROS-FÁBREGAS, 'The Manuscript Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, M. 454: Study and Edition in the Context of the Iberian and Continental Manuscript Traditions', 2 vols. (PhD dissertation, The City University of New York, 1992), offers in its chapters V and VI the first comprehensive attempt to study the transmission of late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Iberian polyphonic music from the perspective of an entire manuscript; the introduction to chapter V, vol. 1, pp. 249-53, questions Jane Hardie's view of the transmission process of Iberian polyphony, which she states was different from the rest of Europe in its supposedly 'conservative' methods of copying; see Jane Morlet HARDIE, 'The Motets of Francisco de Peñalosa and their Manuscript Sources' (PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1983), especially pp. 38-40, and 239-40.

ameliorate it.⁴ The extant versions of the motet *Precor te, Domine* by Francisco de Peñalosa (c.1470-1528) and of the villancico *Passame por dios barquero* attributed to Pedro de Escobar (documented in 1507-14) illustrate the main categories of those deliberate changes: in the first case, we will examine omission and truncation—the latter almost always involving some compositional work in order to give the piece a new ending;⁵ in the second case, amendment and reworking will be considered. Moreover, the tradition of a number of pieces is imperfectly studied, mostly because of mistakes in the collation of the sources.⁶ This is due to the fact that the access to the relevant manuscripts has been, and frequently still is, difficult, particularly in Spanish ecclesiastical institutions. The motet *Memorare piissima*, variously attributed to Peñalosa and Escobar, but undoubtedly by the latter composer, is a case in point that needs reconsideration.⁷ This article will clarify its transmission history. It will additionally offer a new dating for the original layer of manuscript *P-Ln* CIC 60.

Precor te, Domine

The text of *Precor te, Domine* is a prayer, its middle part describing the agony of Christ during crucifixion in a pictorial way, gradually reaching unconsciousness and death. It is found in different versions with variants in a number of books of hours from the fifteenth and early sixteenth century. The most common incipit of this prayer is ‘Precor te, piissime Domine Jesu Christe’, although there are versions beginning with ‘Precor te, amantissime Domine Jesu Christe’ (as in the last part of the text in most versions), and at least one starting with ‘Deprecor te, piissime Domine Jesu Christe’. In some sources, the rubric preceding the prayer gives its authorship to ‘Papa Benedictus ordinis cisterciensis’—that is, to Benedict XII, the third Avignon pope (1280-1342; papacy 1334-42). The granting of indulgences to those who said this prayer, either at Mass after the Elevation or in front of the crucifix, depending on the sources, is also usually mentioned in the rubrics, as is often the case with other prayers used in devotional motets. The precise text as set by Peñalosa has not been

⁴ See, for instance, the addition of a ‘si placet’ contrapuntal part particularly in two-voice sections of a piece becoming a common practice as the sixteenth century progresses. On the comparable subject of the scribes’s intervention in fifteenth-century manuscript copying, see Margaret BENT, ‘Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships between Sources of Late-Medieval Polyphony’, in *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 295-317, especially at pp. 307-11.

⁵ This is the case with, for instance, the well-known Juan de Urrede’s *canción Nunca fue pena mayor* in the *Cancionero de Palacio* and two other non-Iberian sources, where the repetition of the *mudanza* section is cut by six semibreves plus the unmeasured final note (that is, three whole bars) and provided with a shorter, newly-composed cadence on A instead of G for the second ending.

⁶ Which is not the case with REES, *Polyphony in Portugal* (see note 2), pp. 413-29, when he does not rely on previous scholarship.

⁷ Other such cases are the motets *O bone Jesu, illumina oculos meos* and *Domine Jesu Christe, qui diei hora ultima*, both bearing conflicting attributions. These are dealt with in João Pedro d’ALVARENGA, ‘Juan de Anchieta and the Iberian Motet around 1500’, *Acta Musicologica* (forthcoming).

found in the sources consulted. However, among them, two fifteenth-century French books of hours of the use of Paris and two Italian books of hours, one dated 1488 and the other one from before 1510, present readings quite close to the text in the motet with almost no significant variation.⁸ An edition of this text is given in Appendix I.

The motet *Precor te, Domine* survives in three Spanish and two Portuguese manuscript sources and has three different versions (see Table 1). These different versions have been studied more recently by Kenneth Kreitner.⁹ The three Spanish sources—Barcelona 454 (*E-Bbc* M. 454), Toledo 21 (*E-Tc* Cód. B. 21), and Tarazona 2/3 (*E-TZ* Ms. 2/3)—have only the first two of the three *partes* copied anonymously in Coimbra 32 (*P-Cug* MM 32). The omission of the last *pars* results in what Kreitner names as the ‘medium version’ of the motet. It ends rather indecisively on a C sonority instead of the expected A-*mi* sonority (since the piece is in transposed *Mi* tonality). In Coimbra 12 (*P-Cug* MM 12), near the end of the original first *pars*, both text and music are reworked and a newly composed ‘Amen’ finishes the piece, ending it properly on A. Kreitner calls this truncated version the ‘short version’ of the motet.¹⁰

MSS in approximate chronological order	Attribution	Date	Version
<i>E-Bbc</i> M. 454, sections B+C, ff. 66v-67v	Peñalosa	1520-5	medium
<i>E-TZ</i> Ms. 2/3, ff. 261v-262r	p.losa	before 1528?	medium
<i>P-Cug</i> MM 12, ff. 34v-35r	—	c.1540-50	short
<i>P-Cug</i> MM 32, ff. 32v-34r	—	c.1540-55	long
<i>E-Tc</i> Cód. B. 21, ff. 87v-90r	Peña[losa]	1549	medium

Table 1. Sources for the motet *Precor te, Domine*

⁸ These are: *F-Pn* Lat. 1175 (book of hours, use of Paris, fifteenth century); *F-Pn* Lat. 1183 (book of hours, use of Paris, 1475-1500); *I-Vnm* Lat. III, 69 (book of hours, Italy, 1488); and *P-Lcg* M.A. 149 plus Zagreb, Strossmayerova Galerija, S.G. 339-352 (main codex plus detached folios; book of hours, Ferrara, c.1506-7, known as ‘Offiziolo di Alfonso I d’Este’); see Giacomo BAROFFIO, *Corpus Italicum Precum*, in *Iter Liturgicum Italicum* <<http://www.hymnos.sardegna.it/iter/iterliturgicum.htm>> (accessed 22 September 2017). HARDIE, ‘The Motets of Francisco de Peñalosa’ (see note 3), p. 303, gives the reference of two fifteenth-century sources of probable Spanish origin ‘in addition to the sources cited by Leroquais and Sinclair’, which she does not specify. The text provided in Hardie (p. 301)—which, she says without any further details, was taken from ‘the manuscript sources’ (p. 302)—is a longer and more remote version than the one used in the ‘long version’ of the motet; on the different versions of the motet, see the next paragraph.

⁹ Kenneth KREITNER, ‘Peñalosa, “Precor te”, and Us’, in *Pure Gold: Golden Age Sacred Music in the Iberian World. A Homage to Bruno Turner*, edited by Tess Knighton and Bernadette Nelson (Kassel, Reichenberger, 2011), pp. 291-308, with an edition of the motet after *P-Cug* MM 32 in pp. 302-8. This edition is also freely available from the Vanderbeek & Imrie website at <<http://www.mapamundimusic.com/puregold6.pdf>> (accessed 30 December 2017). A more recent edition presenting the versions in *P-Cug* MM 32 and MM 12 is *Francisco de Peñalosa (c.1470-1528): Precor te, domine Jesu Christe (complete and abridged versions)*, edited by Scott Metcalfe, RCM 69 ([Moretonhampstead], Antico Edition, 2016). Bar numbers hereafter refer to Kreitner’s edition.

¹⁰ This is indeed the most popular version of *Precor te, Domine*, since it was published in *Francisco de Peñalosa: Motets for Four & Five Voices*, edited by Martyn Imrie, Mapa Mundi, Series A (Lochs, Vanderbeek & Imrie, 1990), vol. 72, pp. 55-8.

The editor of the ‘short version’ in Coimbra 12 must have had access to the full, ‘long version’ as copied in Coimbra 32 because, in rearranging the text, he makes use of a line taken from the third *pars* of the motet. Neither the text nor the music common to Coimbra 12 and 32 (that is, the first 91 breves) have differences, this including details of spelling and notation such as ligatures. Given that both manuscripts were in all likelihood compiled during the same period—as Owen Rees has convincingly shown¹¹—and that the copy of *Precor te, Domine* in Coimbra 12 seems not to belong to the original layer of this manuscript,¹² it is reasonably safe to assume that the editor of the ‘short version’ worked directly from the ‘long version’ in Coimbra 32. Moreover, in Coimbra 32, the last word in line 6, ‘dolore’, is erased and substituted with ‘gestu’—which, interestingly, is the only recorded alternative to ‘gustu’ in the original prayer at that place in the sources consulted;¹³ the scribe of Coimbra 12 already wrote ‘gestu’ originally.

The Spanish sources have some significant differences from the Coimbra sources. Barcelona 454, Toledo 21, and Tarazona 2/3 share an extra line of text, which is not included in the Coimbra manuscripts: ‘cum transverberato corpore’ (‘with severed body’, line 9), between ‘cum transfixo corde’ (‘with pierced heart’), and ‘cum sanguineis vulneribus’ (‘with bloody wounds’). At this point, the Spanish sources make more sense, not only because that line of text is part of the original prayer, but also because in the Coimbra versions the absence of that line of text leads to the repetition of ‘cum transfixo corde’, thus breaking the consistent pattern of giving a new line of text to each of the successive duos (and indeed to each of the successive phrases throughout the whole piece). If not for other reasons, this textual variant links the Spanish sources together and separates them from the Portuguese sources.

The Spanish sources also have differences between them, mainly in wording and use of coloration. Moreover, Toledo 21 has unique readings for bars 72-3, 83 (altus; introduced by hyparchetype ε; see the sketch stemma on Figure 1), and 79-80 (altus; clearly arising from a copying error that a different scribe later erased and emended by conjecture). It however has a common reading with Tarazona 2/3 for bar 74 (tenor), which is separative as regards the Portuguese sources and must thus have been introduced higher in the stemma; both sources also share a different, though equivalent, mensural sign. Barcelona 454 explicitly presents the piece in two *partes* and has unique readings for bars 56, 74-5 (tenor) and 79-80 (altus), all corrupt; it obviously

¹¹ On *P-Cug* MM 12 and MM 32, see REES, *Polyphony in Portugal* (see note 2), pp. 185-94 and 215-27 respectively.

¹² The piece, written by a scribe different from any of the eight scribes who copied the original layer of Coimbra 12, appears at the end of a gathering firstly filled with the last part of the composite mass that includes Anchieta’s Credo, and after two added pieces, both textless: the Alleluia *Primus ad Sion* by Escobar in a four-voice version, and an eighth-tone Alleluia by Heliodoro de Paiva (d. 1552). The copy of *Precor te* is the only one in the whole manuscript using Italic script for the text. This allows dating it to the 1560s.

¹³ See Appendix I.

belongs to a different branch, also derived from hyparchetype γ (see Figure 1), because it has the prevalent readings on bars 72-3 and 83 in the altus and the same mensural sign as in the Portuguese sources. Even if divided into two branches, all the existing sources in the Spanish tradition for this piece stem from the now lost exemplar that first omitted the third *pars* of the motet, thus producing its 'medium version'. Therefore, the hypothetical sketch stemma for *Precor te, Domine* would be the one on Figure 1. Kreitner's conviction that the 'long version' in Coimbra 32 is 'most likely' the 'original *Precor te*' is then probably right,¹⁴ except for the fact that 'the original' (or, more precisely, the version closest to the archetype) would have included text line 9—that is, it would have been hyparchetype β . The fact that no version of the motet directly deriving from this hyparchetype exists is an obvious indication that a significant number of intermediate sources were lost. This, and the descent from a hyparchetype probably lateral to β surely account for a few suspicious readings in the last *pars* of the 'long version' as copied in Coimbra 32.¹⁵

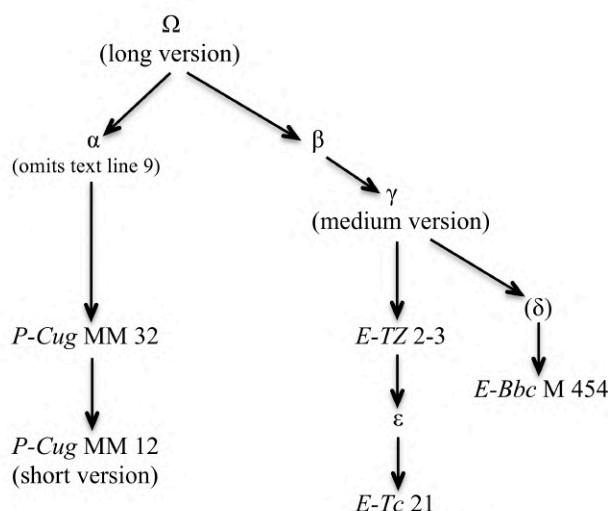


Figure 1. The hypothetical sketch stemma for *Precor te, Domine*

Passame por dios barquero

As seen, the extant versions of *Precor te, Domine* illustrate omission and a particularly elaborate case of truncation. Two other categories of deliberate change to the text of a musical work are amendment and reworking. They frequently combine, as in one of the extant versions of *Passame*

¹⁴ See KREITNER, 'Peñalosa, "Precor te", and Us' (see note 9), p. 299.

¹⁵ For instance, bars 141-2 and 176-7 in the tenor part are clearly corrupt readings. Indeed, Owen Rees casts doubt on the authorship of the 'long version' in Coimbra 32 because of what he considers 'the incompetent counterpoint' in the final *pars* of the motet; see his 'Two of a Kind: Motet Pairs and Identity Crises in the Iberian Repertory', unpublished paper read at the 45th Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, Prague, 6 July 2017.

por dios barquero. This villancico exists in three sources: the *Cancionero de Palacio* (E-Mp Ms. II-1335) in its second layer, f. ccxxxij/190r, where it is attributed to ‘Escobar’ by a different, later hand; the *Cancioneiro de Elvas* (P-Em Ms. 11793), ff. 95v-96r; and the small manuscript Lisbon 60 (P-Ln CIC 60), ff. 39v-40r. The piece has no authorship attribution in the Portuguese sources.

The layer of the *Cancionero de Palacio* where *Passame por dios barquero* appears is dated by Romeu Figueras to between 1507 and 1510.¹⁶ The *Cancioneiro de Elvas* is dated to the third quarter of the sixteenth century, probably around 1570. This dating, established by Gil Miranda,¹⁷ has been commonly accepted for palaeographic and codicological reasons—the use of an elegant italic script for the texts and the latest recorded date for the sole watermark type being 1571—and also because it includes the first tercet of an elegy written in around 1555 by Dom Manuel de Portugal (c.1525-1606)¹⁸ and, in its second part, one *glosa* and four *cantigas* by Pêro de Andrade Caminha (c.1520-1589) appearing in other manuscript sources from the third quarter of the sixteenth century.¹⁹ The original layer of Lisbon 60 is dated by Owen Rees to c.1530-50.²⁰ However, a later dating for this manuscript in around 1570 seems more plausible, on the basis of palaeographic and codicological evidence (see Appendix II).

Turning back to *Passame por dios barquero*, we will firstly consider its text (see Table 2). Besides some trivial differences in spelling, the Portuguese sources also have differences in wording (Elvas, text lines 2, 3 and 7; Lisbon 60, text lines 2 and 7); text line 10 is the same as text line 3 in all three versions. These latter differences should be valued as significant variants. For instance: ‘de aquesa’ is a synonym of ‘de esa’ but not of ‘de aquella’; ‘dolor’ and ‘amor’, although they can be semantically equivalent—as it is often the case in most sixteenth-century and later poetry—are strictly not synonyms.

¹⁶ *La música en la corte de los Reyes Católicos*, IV-1: *Cancionero Musical de Palacio (Siglos XV-XVI)*, introduction and research by José Romeu Figueras, Monumentos de la Música Española XIV-1 (Barcelona, CSIC - Instituto Español de Musicología, 1965), vol. 3(A), p. 22; see also Emilio ROS-FÁBREGAS, ‘Manuscripts of Polyphony from the Time of Isabel and Ferdinand’, in *Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs* (see note 1), pp. 404-68, at pp. 415-28.

¹⁷ *The Elvas Songbook*, edited by Gil Miranda, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 98 (Neuhausen - Stuttgart, American Institute of Musicology, 1987), pp. xviii-xix.

¹⁸ This elegy, *Aquella voluntad que se ha rendido*, appears complete in the *Cancioneiro de Luiz Franco Corrêa*, P-Ln Cod. 4413, compiled between 1557 and 1589.

¹⁹ See *Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Pública Hortensia de Elvas: Edição fac-similada*, introduction by Manuel Pedro Ferreira, I: Lusitana Musica / 3: Opera Musica Selecta (Lisbon, Instituto Português do Património Cultural, 1989), pp. vii-viii; and *O Cancioneiro musical e poético da Biblioteca Pública Hortensia*, prólogo, transcrição e notas de Manuel Joaquim (Coimbra, Instituto para a Alta Cultura, 1940), pp. 179-89. Ferreira’s introductory study in *Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Pública Hortensia de Elvas* includes a critical review of the existing editions of the musical settings in this manuscript at pp. xxviii-xliii.

²⁰ Owen REES, ‘Manuscript Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, CIC 60: The Repertories and their Context’, *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, 4-5 (1994-5), pp. 53-93, at pp. 63-4.

	<i>Cancionero de Palacio</i>	<i>Cancioneiro de Elvas</i>	Lisbon 60
	Pasame por dios varquero daquesa parte del rrio, duelete del dolor mio.	Passame por dios <u>barquero</u> daquella parte del rio, duelete del amor mio.	Passame por dios <u>barquero</u> daquella parte del rio, duelete del dolor mio.
5	Que si puenes dilacion en venir a socorrerme, no podras despues valerme, segun mi grave passion.	Que si <u>pones</u> dilacion en venir a socorrerme, no podras despues valerme, segun crece mi passion.	Que si puenes* dilacion en venir a socorrerme, <u>non</u> podras despues valerme, segun crece mi passion.
10	No <i>quieras</i> mi perdiçion, pues en tu bondad confio, duelete del dolor mio.	No <i>quieras</i> mi perdicion, pues en tu bondad confio, duelete del amor mio.	No <u>queras</u> mi perdiçion, pues en tu bondad confio, [duelete del dolor mio.]

* 'pones' in the T and B parts.

The *mote*, that is, the first tercet, in the version of Lisbon 60, also appears in *Coplas de vnos tres pastores Martin & Miguel & Antõ cõ otras de Alegre fuy & otras de pasesme por dios barqro* [Burgos, Friedrich Biel, 1515-9]. The glosses in this print, attributed by some authors to Rodrigo de Reinosa (c.1450-c.1530), are however different.

Table 2. The text of *Passame por dios barquero* in its three extant sources

		<i>Palacio</i>	<i>Elvas</i>	Lisbon 60
	clefs	c1 c4 F3	c1 c4 F3	c1 c4 F4
	key signature	yes	no	partial (T B)
	mensural sign	S ϕ 3 T B ϕ 3	ϕ 3	ϕ 3
1	T 2 ¹⁻²	c'	c'	a
2	S 5	d-Br	d-Br	Br Sb
	T 5	d-Br	d-Br	f d-Sb g a b M
	B 5	c	c	d d-Sb e M f Sb
3	B 7 ²⁻³	B c d e M	B c d e M	B Br
4	B 8 ²⁻³	g Br	g e Sb	g e Sb
	B 9 ¹⁻²	d	f	f
5	B 10 ³	d Sb	d c M	d Sb
6	B 14	c'	c'	F
7	S 16 ³	c'	c'	d
	T 16 ³	a	a	b
	B 16 ³	f	f	B
	S T B -/17	—	—	= bar 12
8	S T 18/19	d-Br	d-Br	Br Sb
	B 18/19	c' d-Sb b a g M	c' d-Sb b a g M	d Br Sb
9	B 21/22	f Sb g Br	f Sb g Br	f a g c M g Sb
10	S T B 22/23	Br Sb	Br Sb	d-Br

Table 3. Points of variation in the extant sources of *Passame por dios barquero*²¹

²¹ The following abbreviations are used in this table: B = bassus (or contra); Br = breve; d- = dotted (e.g. d-Br = dotted breve); M = minima; -r = rest (e.g. Br-r = breve rest); S = superius (or tiple); Sb = semibreve; T = tenor. Reference to the note figures follows their order within the given bar not including rests. Reference to pitches uses the Helmholtz notation system (middle c = c').

Looking at the music (see Appendix III), the Lisbon version seems to be far removed from the version in the *Cancionero de Palacio* while the Elvas version seems to be closer to it. The extent of variation in the readings in Lisbon 60 allows us to consider this version as a reworking, although not of the type of unrelated or remotely related versions resulting from the use of common melodies.²² The primary aim of the editor of the Lisbon version of *Passame por dios barquero* seems to have been to modernize and correct musical syntax by transforming octave-leap cadences into regular perfect ones and avoiding the parallel fifths between the outer voices in the penultimate bar. The insertion of one whole bar into the first half of the *mudanza* section, however, harms the balancing of triple and duple rhythms, with consequences in text underlay and prosody.

If compared to the version in *Palacio*, Elvas has only two different readings (nos. 4 and 5 on Table 3). However, one of these variant readings (no. 5) is unique to Elvas and so it separates this version from the versions in *Palacio* and in Lisbon, as these latter sources agree at this point. The reading unique to Elvas can of course be counted as a mechanical change by assimilation of the next musical figure, but the different reading in the third line of text ('amor' for 'dolor') is also separative. Consequently, we have to assume that the Lisbon version was worked out from a hyparchetype closer to *Palacio* than Elvas.²³ The sketch stemma for *Passame por dios barquero* would thus be the one in Figure 2.

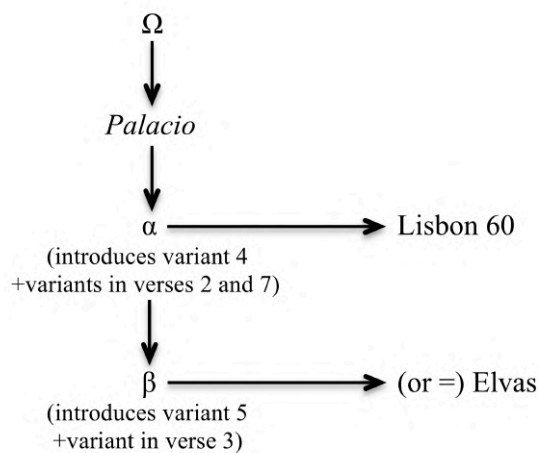


Figure 2. The hypothetical sketch stemma for *Passame por dios barquero*

²² As is the case with, for instance *Secaronme los pesares*, also in *Palacio*, ff. 119v-120r, attributed to Escobar and, in another version, anonymous in Elvas, ff. 41v-42r; in a different setting in Lisbon 60, ff. 37v-38r; and with only one voice-part in the so-called *Cancioneiro de Paris*, *F-Peb* Ms. Masson 56, ff. 22v-23r. On this latter manuscript, see Nuno de Mendonça RAIMUNDO, 'O cancionero musical de Paris: Uma nova perspectiva sobre o manuscrito *F-Peb* Masson 56', 2 vols. (Master's thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2017), which includes a critical edition of its full contents.

²³ Obviously, this does not contradict Rees's conclusion that the version in Lisbon 60 is the furthest from the one in the *Cancionero de Palacio*; see his 'Manuscript Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, CIC 60' (see note 20), pp. 74-5, n. 46.

Although in vernacular repertory, as Owen Rees wrote elsewhere, ‘readings of both music and text seem often to have been less stable’ than in Latin polyphony,²⁴ the case of *Passame por dios barquero* makes it clear that an apparently similar version to the earliest known copy of a given piece can after all be farther removed from the archetype than the exemplar for a reworking of that same piece.

Memorare piissima

The tradition of the motet *Memorare piissima*, which also includes an instance of reworking, is inaccurately described in the relevant existing literature. This work survives in five Spanish and two Portuguese manuscript sources and has conflicting attributions to Peñalosa and Escobar (see Table 4). Except for Jane Hardie (who considers it doubtful in her 1983 dissertation) and Dionisio Preciado (who only uses and discusses three of the seven surviving sources in his edition of Peñalosa’s *opera omnia*),²⁵ the authorship of Escobar for this piece is generally acknowledged.²⁶

MSS in approximate chronological order	Attribution	Date
<i>E-Sco</i> Ms. 5-5-20, ff. 15v-17r	Escobar	1510s
<i>E-Bbc</i> M. 454, sections C+D, ff. 162v-163r	Penalosa	1525-34
<i>E-TZ</i> Ms. 2/3, ff. 282v-283r	escobar	before 1528?
<i>P-Cug</i> MM 12, ff. 201v-203r	—	c.1540-50
<i>P-Cug</i> MM 32, ff. 25v-26r	—	c.1540-55
<i>E-Tc</i> Cód. B. 21, ff. 78v-82r	Peñalosa	1549
<i>E-Sc</i> Ms. 1, ff. 31v-33r	Petrus escobar	1550-4

Table 4. Sources for the motet *Memorare piissima*²⁷

²⁴ REES, ‘Manuscript Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, CIC 60’ (see note 20), p. 78.

²⁵ HARDIE, ‘The Motets of Francisco de Peñalosa’ (see note 3), especially pp. 137-43 and 292-3; *Francisco de Peñalosa: Twenty-Four Motets*, edited by Jane Morlet Hardie, Collected Works XIV/1 (Ottawa, The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1994); and *Francisco de Peñalosa (ca. 1470-1528): Opera Omnia*, vol. 1: *Motetes*, edited by Dionisio Preciado (Madrid, Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1986). The sources used by Preciado are: *E-Bbc* M. 454; *E-Tc* Cód. B. 21; and *P-Cug* MM 12.

²⁶ The most popular edition of this work is *Pedro de Escobar: Memorare piissima*, edited by Martyn Imrie, Mapa Mundi, Series A, 224 (Lochs, Vanderbeek & Imrie, 2004). Although this edition states that its source is manuscript *E-Sc* Ms. 1, it is in fact an eclectic edition, incorporating the reading of manuscripts *P-Cug* MM 12, MM 32 and *E-Tc* Cód. B. 21 for bars 68-70. An edition from *E-TZ* Ms. 2/3 is in *Autores hispanos de los siglos XV-XVI de los ms. 2 y 5 de la catedral de Tarazona*, edited by Pedro Calahorra, Polifonía Aragonesa, IX (Zaragoza, Institución Fernando el Católico, 1995), pp. 97-105. Bar numbers hereafter refer to Imrie’s edition.

²⁷ The copy in *E-Sco* Ms. 5-5-20 is incomplete because of the lack of f. 16.

The text of *Memorare piissima* is composed in the form of a prayer to the Virgin, meditating on her fifth and sixth sorrows (the crucifixion and the deposition of Christ)—a favourite of late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Castilian devotees, and particularly Queen Isabel.²⁸ Although Hardie states that this text appears in books of hours along with *Precor te*,²⁹ it was found nowhere within the sources consulted.³⁰ Except for a number of differences in spelling (e.g. ‘obprobria’/‘opprobria’; ‘amicicia’/‘amicitia’; ‘substulit’/‘sustulit’), the extant sources show no variant readings in the text.

Taking into consideration two significant points of variation in the music—one involving the altus and tenor in the three-voice segment setting the words ‘non dimittas cogitare’ (‘do not let go from thy thoughts’) on bars 68-70, and the other one involving the altus on bars 84-5—, Jane Hardie identifies four successive versions of this motet, which she discusses mostly in a phylogenetic way (that is, grouping the texts in the extant sources according to their similarities and separating them by considering their differences as changes in a chronological sequence). This produces an apparently convincing case regarding the filiation of the different versions of the piece. The whole argument is, however, based on a puzzling misreading of manuscript Coimbra 32.³¹ To sum up, Hardie says that, on bars 68-70, the copy in Coimbra 32 introduces a new tenor while retaining the original altus part (corresponding to her version III of the motet). This results in an awkward clash of an unprepared second between the two voice parts, but the defect would be corrected in Coimbra 12 by the writing of a new altus part (corresponding to her version IV of the motet). The new altus and tenor parts as in Coimbra 12 also appear in Toledo 21.³² Actually, the readings in Coimbra 12 and 32 are exactly the same at this point (see Figures 3 and 4, where bars 68-70 are marked in the altus and tenor parts). Therefore, no version III of the motet exists.

²⁸ See Tess KNIGHTON, ‘Music and Devotion at the Court of the Catholic Monarchs’, in *The Spain of the Catholic Monarchs: Papers from the Quincentenary Conference (Bristol, 2004)*, edited by David Hook (Bristol, University of Bristol Press, 2008), pp. 207-25, especially at pp. 214-5.

²⁹ HARDIE, ‘The Motets of Francisco de Peñalosa’ (see note 3), pp. 160 and 162.

³⁰ These are those referred to in BAROFFIO, *Corpus Italicum Precum* (see note 8). Also, no such incipit is recorded in the general index of Victor LEROQUAIS, *Les livres d’heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1927). In addition, to my knowledge, no other composer set this text to music.

³¹ Which can only be explained by the hypothesis that Hardie did not have had access to the originals and had worked from unmarked copies that present each opening in two separate images.

³² HARDIE, ‘The Motets of Francisco de Peñalosa’ (see note 3), pp. 137-43; the example on p. 139, however, assigns version III to Coimbra 12, and version IV to Coimbra 32. See also REES, *Polyphony in Portugal* (see note 2), p. 421, who relies on Hardie, and ROS-FÁBREGAS, ‘The Manuscript Barcelona’ (see note 3), vol. 1, pp. 318-21, who did not collate the readings in Coimbra 32, and was thus unable accurately to describe the tradition of this piece.

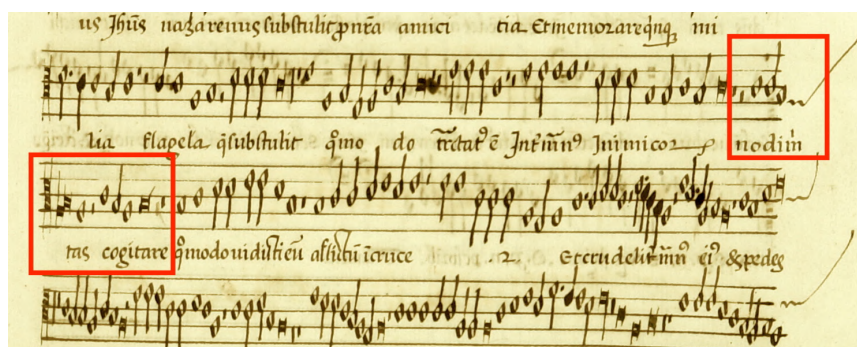
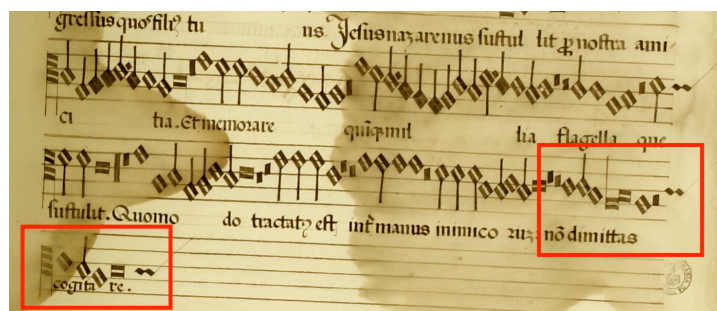


Figure 3. *Memorare piissima*, altus part, (a) *P-Cug* MM 12, f. 202r, detail, (b) *P-Cug* MM 32, f. 26r, detail

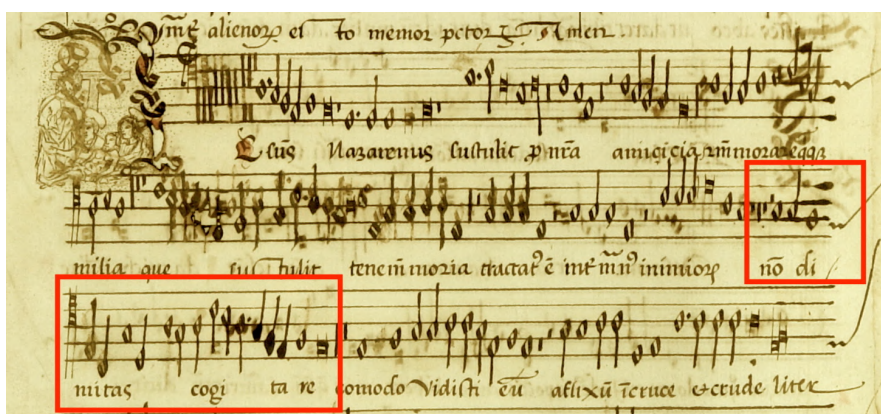
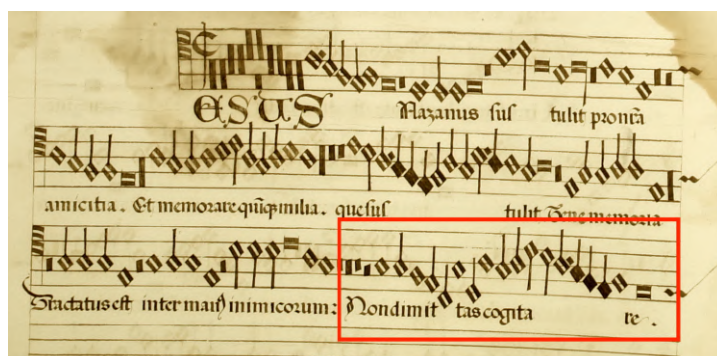
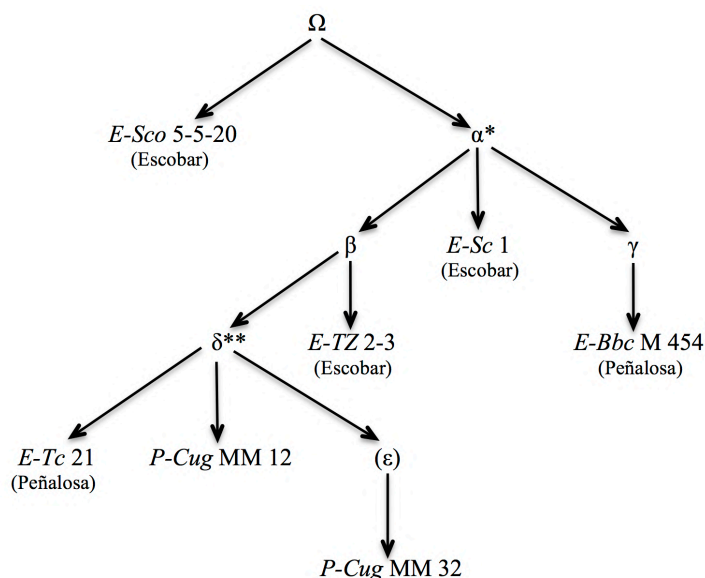


Figure 4. *Memorare piissima*, tenor part, (a) *P-Cug* MM 12, f. 201v, detail, (b) *P-Cug* MM 32, f. 25v, detail

Yet, given the established chronology of the manuscripts, we could still hypothesize that the new altus and tenor parts on bars 68-70 had been devised in Portugal and that this supposedly ‘Portuguese version’ had went back to Spain, originating the copy in Toledo 21. This would have been the obvious conclusion, had Hardie been right about the readings in Coimbra 32. However, in view of all types of variation (including differences of rhythm; differences of rhythm and pitch; and differences in notation, particularly the distribution of ligatures), it is clear that the Spanish and Portuguese sources form separate family groupings, the latter evidently deriving from the first.³³

Given the unique reading in Seville 5-5-20 (*E-Sco* Ms. 5-5-20) of the altus on bars 84-5 (Hardie’s version I of the motet), and the additional fact that Barcelona 454 and Seville 1 (*E-Sc* Ms. 1) each have one error of pitch not shared with any other source, the hypothetical sketch stemma for *Memorare piissima* would be that in Figure 5. Each of the hyparchetypes α and δ undoubtedly represent a group of similar, though not necessarily identical, sources, now lost. Except for the significant variant on bars 68-70 introduced by hyparchetype δ and differences in the distribution of ligatures, readings along the main branch of the stemma are uniform. Seville 5-5-20 (which cannot be fully assessed because its copy of the motet is incomplete), besides the aforementioned unique reading, and Coimbra 12 each have one variant of rhythm; Barcelona 454 bears three variants of rhythm; and Coimbra 32 shows five such variants. Therefore, no copy descends directly from another.



* Variant on bb. 84-5 (= Hardie’s version II); possibly no authorship attribution

** Variant on bb. 68-70 (= Hardie’s version IV)

Figure 5. The hypothetical sketch stemma for *Memorare piissima*

³³ This is the usual picture with the Coimbra sources, including the sacred repertory in the original layer of *P-Ln* CIC 60, most probably also copied from Coimbra-related exemplars in around 1570 (see Appendix II).

Since both versions II and IV of *Memorare piissima* obviously coexisted, it is impossible to determine from the available evidence when and where the latter version originated and, thus, when it was transmitted to Portugal. The differences between the copies in Coimbra 12 and 32 corroborate Owen Rees's assumption that the scribes in Santa Cruz 'were probably drawing in many cases upon different exemplars'.³⁴ However, it is extremely difficult to ascertain if these different exemplars originated in Portugal from one single Spanish source (either a choirbook or a fascicle-manuscript), or if they corresponded to multiple transmissions, although, in the case of *Memorare piissima*, a few concordances in details of notation linking the Coimbra copies against the Spanish support the first hypothesis. As is often the case with what Owen Rees has conveniently called the 'Spanish Court repertory', Tarazona 2/3—here along with Seville 1 and Toledo 21, and aside from the significant variant on bars 68-70—has the closer reading to those in the Coimbra sources. The same also happens with Tarazona 2/3 and Coimbra 32 as regards *Precor te, Domine* in the 126 breves common to both sources.³⁵ If Seville is indeed the origin of the exemplars that were used in the compilation of Tarazona 2/3,³⁶ then the main channel of this repertory transmission to Portugal, or at least to Coimbra, must have passed through, or originated in, Seville.³⁷ Version IV of *Memorare piissima* could thus be a version by the composer himself instead of being the result of a scribe's emendation.

The examples presented above are surely enough to show that Portuguese sources have to be properly and carefully assessed, particularly regarding late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spanish, or probably Spanish, repertories. Since these Portuguese sources form a lateral, though stemmatically close, tradition, with limited opportunities for generating multiple exemplars and so reasonably protected from contamination (while not, as seen, from emendation), it is entirely

³⁴ REES, *Polyphony in Portugal* (see note 2), p. 82.

³⁵ See REES, *Polyphony in Portugal* (see note 2), p. 427.

³⁶ On E-TZ Ms. 2/3, see the *Books of Hispanic Polyphony* database at <<https://hispanicpolyphony.eu/source/13442>> (accessed 19 October 2017), and also ROS-FÁBREGAS, 'Manuscripts of Polyphony' (see note 16), pp. 446-51. Ros-Fábregas's hypothesis is that Tarazona 2/3 was copied from older manuscripts in Tarazona in the middle or the second half of the sixteenth century. This is not, however, at odds with the possibility that most of its contents had its origin in Seville; see Juan RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *La Librería de Canto de Órgano: Creación y pervivencia del repertorio del Renacimiento en la actividad musical de la Catedral de Sevilla* (Seville, Junta de Andalucía - Consejería de Cultura, 2007), pp. 37-8; and Juan RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, "'Sounds of the Hollow Mountain': Musical Tradition and Innovation in Seville Cathedral in the Early Renaissance', *Early Music History*, 29 (2010), pp. 189-239, at pp. 226-36. Quite recently, Esperanza Rodríguez-García has shown that Ros-Fábregas's claim is hardly tenable, and that the manuscript was most probably copied in the decade before Peñalosa's death in 1528; see Esperanza RODRÍGUEZ-GARCÍA, 'Did Francisco de Peñalosa compose the Credo of the mass *Rex virginum*?', unpublished paper read at the *ENIM 2018 - 8th Conference on Musical Research*, Porto, Portugal, 9 November 2018.

³⁷ The transmission via Seville is also one of the hypotheses put forward by Tess Knighton for the works by Escobar included in Gonçalo de BAENA, *Arte nouamente inuentada pera aprender a tãger* (Lisbon, German Galhard, 1540); see her 'Gonçalo de Baena's *Arte para tanger* (Lisboa, 1540): Local and International Repertories', in *Musical Exchanges, 1100-1650: Iberian Connections*, edited by Manuel Pedro Ferreira (Kassel, Reichenberger, 2016), pp. 209-39, at p. 221. This has however to be tested by studying the variants found in all sources for the relevant works, particularly the motet *Clamabat autem*.

possible that even late sources provide missing links to the main tradition or contain versions stemming from early transmissions, and therefore not remote from the lost originals. The example of *Precor te* clearly shows that the earliest or geographically closer sources, or those bearing the name of the composer—that is, the presumed ‘authoritative’ sources—are not always those that prove to be the closest to the archetype, especially if transmission giving rise to the lateral, or ‘peripheral’, tradition is fairly early, as it appears to be the case. Finally, the examples in this article, even if consisting of single pieces, also suggest that the corpus of extant Iberian manuscripts is clearly separated into family groupings, revealing processes and patterns of transmission similar to those found everywhere in the rest of Europe.³⁸

³⁸ This is in agreement with Ros-Fábregas’s conclusion in his ‘The Manuscript Barcelona’ (see note 3), vol. 1, p. 332, that ‘contrary to Hardie’s contention [in her PhD dissertation], even for the transmission of the narrow circle of Peñalosa’s works there is no unified Iberian manuscript tradition’.

Appendix I

An edition of the text of *Precor te, Domine*³⁹

- Precor te,¹ Domine Jesu Christe,
 propter² illam inaestimabilem³ caritatem
 quando tu,⁴ rex caelestis, pendebas⁵ in cruce,
 cum deifica caritate,⁶
 5 cum maestissima anima,⁷
 cum tristissimo⁸ dolore,⁹
 cum turbatis¹⁰ sensibus,
 cum transfixo corde,
 cum transverberato corpore,¹¹
 10 cum sanguineis vulneribus,
 cum expansis manibus,
 cum extensis venis,¹²
 cum clamoroso ore,
 cum rauca voce,
 15 cum pallida facie,
 cum mortali colore,¹³
 cum lacrimosis oculis,
 cum gemebundo gutture,
 cum sitibundis desideriiis,
 20 cum amaro¹⁴ gustu felis,¹⁵
 cum inclinato capite,
 cum divisione corporis et anime,
 cum origine viventis fontis,¹⁶
 et in ea¹⁷ caritate,¹⁸
 25 precor te,¹⁹ amantissime Domine Jesu Christe,
 qua tum amorosum cor tuum²⁰ extrungebatur,²¹
 ut sis mihi²² placabilis super multitudinem peccatorum meorum,²³
 bonum²⁴ et sanctum finem,
 nec non gloriosam beatamque²⁵ resurrectionem,
 30 propter²⁶ misericordiam tuam²⁷ mihi tribuere digneris.
 Amen.

Main source:

P-Cug MM 32

Additional non-musical sources:

F-Pn Lat. 1175 (book of hours, use of Paris, 15th century), ff. 131r-132r;

F-Pn Lat. 1183 (book of hours, use of Paris, 1475-1500), ff. 151v-153r;

I-Vnm Lat. III, 69 (book of hours, Italy, 1488), apud BAROFFIO, *Corpus Italicum Precum* (see note 8);

P-Lcg M.A. 149 (book of hours, Ferrara, c.1506-7, known as 'Offiziolo di Alfonso I d'Este'), cit. in BAROFFIO, *Corpus Italicum Precum* (see note 8).

Original spellings were not retained, even when they offer clear clues to Portuguese pronunciation of the Latin (as in 'inextimabilem', and 'ressureitionem' or 'resureitionem', and the irregular use of /ç/ [tz] in words like 'façie', 'cruçe', and 'voçe').

³⁹ An English version by Leofranc Holford-Strevens is found in KREITNER, 'Peñalosa, "Precor te", and Us' (see note 9), pp. 295-6.

P-Cug MM 12, after line 15: ‘et mortali colore, ut sis mihi placabilis super multitudinem peccatorum meorum. Amen’.

E-Bbc M. 545, *E-Tc* Cód. B. 21, and *E-TZ* Ms. 2/3 end with line 24.

- 1 ‘Precor te piissime’ > *F-Pn* Lat. 1175, *F-Pn* Lat. 1183, *I-Vnm* Lat. III, 69, *P-Lcg* M.A. 149
- 2 ‘per’ > *P-Lcg* M.A. 149
- 3 ‘eximiam’ > *P-Lcg* M.A. 149; word omitted > *F-Pn* Lat. 1175, *F-Pn* Lat. 1183, *I-Vnm* Lat. III, 69
- 4 ‘qua tu’ > *E-TZ* Ms. 2/3, *F-Pn* Lat. 1175, *F-Pn* Lat. 1183, *I-Vnm* Lat. III, 69, *P-Lcg* M.A. 149; ‘quam tu’ > *E-Tc* Cód. B. 21; ‘quam cum’ > *E-Bbc* M. 454
- 5 ‘dum pendebas’ > *F-Pn* Lat. 1183
- 6 ‘claritate’ > *F-Pn* Lat. 1183
- 7 ‘mitissima anima’ > *E-Tc* Cód. B. 21, *E-TZ* Ms. 2/3 (S and T parts), *F-Pn* Lat. 1175, *F-Pn* Lat. 1183; ‘amantissima anima’ > *E-Bbc* M. 454 (A and T parts); ‘anima santissima’ > *E-Bbc* M. 454 (B part)
- 8 ‘mitissimo’ > *E-Bbc* M. 454
- 9 ‘gustu’ > *F-Pn* Lat. 1175, *I-Vnm* Lat. III, 69, *P-Lcg* M.A. 149; ‘gestu’ > *F-Pn* Lat. 1183, *P-Cug* MM 12; ‘gestu’ over erasure (original: ‘dolore’) > *P-Cug* MM 32
- 10 ‘conturbatis’ > *I-Vnm* Lat. III, 69, *P-Cug* MM 32 (S part; surely an error: *P-Cug* MM 12 has ‘cum turbatis’)
- 11 line 9 omitted in *P-Cug* MM 32 and *P-Cug* MM 12; ‘et transveverato corpore’ > *E-Tc* Cód. B. 21
- 12 ‘nervis’ > *I-Vnm* Lat. III, 69
- 13 ‘corpore’ > *F-Pn* Lat. 1183
- 14 ‘amaroso’ > *E-Bbc* M. 454
- 15 ‘aceti et felis’ > *P-Lcg* M.A. 149
- 16 ‘fontis viventis’ > *F-Pn* Lat. 1175, *P-Cug* MM 32 (S part); ‘viventis fons mea’ > *E-Bbc* M. 454; line 23: ‘cum emanatione sanguinis et aquae’ > *I-Vnm* Lat. III, 69
- 17 ‘in ea’ > *F-Pn* Lat. 1175, *F-Pn* Lat. 1183, *P-Lcg* M.A. 149; ‘in eadem’ > *I-Vnm* Lat. III, 69; ‘et in’ > *E-Tc* Cód. B. 21; ‘in’ > *E-Bbc* M. 454
- 18 ‘carne’ > *F-Pn* Lat. 1183
- 19 ‘deprecor te’ > *I-Vnm* Lat. III, 69
- 20 ‘qua amorosum cor tuum tunc’ > *P-Lcg* M.A. 149; ‘qua tuum amorosum cor’ > *F-Pn* Lat. 1175, *F-Pn* Lat. 1183, *I-Vnm* Lat. III, 69
- 21 ‘astringebatur’ > *I-Vnm* Lat. III, 69, *P-Lcg* M.A. 149; ‘stringebatur’ > *F-Pn* Lat. 1175; ‘constringebatur’ > *F-Pn* Lat. 1183
- 22 ‘nobis’ > *I-Vnm* Lat. III, 69
- 23 ‘nostrorum’ > *I-Vnm* Lat. III, 69
- 24 ‘et bonum’ > *I-Vnm* Lat. III, 69
- 25 ‘beatam et gloriosam’ > *P-Lcg* M.A. 149; ‘gloriosam laetamque’ > *I-Vnm* Lat. III, 69
- 26 ‘inter ineffabilem’ > *P-Lcg* M.A. 149
- 27 ‘tuam misericordiam’ > *F-Pn* Lat. 1183, *I-Vnm* Lat. III, 69, *P-Cug* MM 32 (A and B parts); ‘tuam magnam misericordiam’ > *F-Pn* Lat. 1175

Appendix II

The date of manuscript *P-Ln* CIC 60⁴⁰

The following palaeographic and codicological evidence allow us to date the original layer of manuscript *P-Ln* CIC 60 to around 1570.

1) Roman round script (or Humanistic script) is used throughout the original layer of Lisbon 60. This type of script seems to have been consistently used in Portuguese music manuscripts not before the early or mid-1570s.⁴¹ The first known dated manuscript using Roman round script is *P-Cug* MM 3, copied in the most part probably by Francisco de Santa Maria in 1575. *P-Cug* MM 31, a fragmentary choirbook possibly copied in around that same year by the same scribe, also uses Roman round script. However, *P-Cug* MM 25, whose estimated date of copying is around 1575 or later, still uses semi-Roman script.⁴² The same applies to *P-Cug* MM 56, a *passionarium* datable to the 1570s.⁴³ Semi-Roman script has the general appearance of Humanistic script, but retains some characteristics of Gothic script such as the round /r/ after /o/, /p/ and /h/, and the preference for the uncial over the upright /d/. Semi-Roman script appears along with late Gothic and more informal types of script, such as Italic cursive, in earlier manuscripts not intended for use at the lectern such as *P-Cug* MM 32.⁴⁴ The only presumably early choirbook using Roman round script in some parts is *P-Cug* MM 7. However, this is an extremely complex volume, made up of different fascicles from at least two originally distinct manuscripts, of which the *terminus ante quem* is not firmly established.⁴⁵

2) Similar, though not identical, watermarks to those in Lisbon 60 are dated 1557 (the watermark type described as 'hand and star'), 1553 and 1570 (the 'armillary sphere and star' type) in the

⁴⁰ See the digital reproduction, description and full index in the *Portuguese Early Music Database* at <<http://pemdatabase.eu/source/36335>> (accessed 30 December 2017).

⁴¹ A useful and enlightening overview of the textual scripts found in sixteenth-century Portuguese manuscripts is in RAIMUNDO, 'O cancioneiro musical de Paris' (see note 22), vol. 1, pp. 22-46.

⁴² On these manuscripts and their dating, see REES, *Polyphony in Portugal* (see note 2), pp. 8, 149-53, 213-4, and 201-4.

⁴³ The sole watermark in this manuscript is similar to the one in the *Cancioneiro de Elvas*. See José Maria Pedrosa CARDOSO, *O canto da Paixão nos séculos XVI e XVII: A singularidade portuguesa* (Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 2006), pp. 42-3, where a date for *P-Cug* MM 56 in around 1580 is suggested.

⁴⁴ See note 11.

⁴⁵ On *P-Cug* MM 7, see REES, *Polyphony in Portugal* (see note 2), pp. 8, and 161-6. A few unnoticed concordances have been recently spotted: *P-Cug* MM 7, ff. 36v-37r, *Rex meus et Deus meus*, is also in *E-Boc* Ms. 5, f. 65v, with the text incipit 'O rex noster et Deus noster' and attributed to 'Milans'; *P-Cug* MM 7, ff. 41v-42, *Domine, memento mei*, is also in *E-Tc* Cód. B. 21, ff. 84v-87r, attributed to 'Pastrana', *E-V* Ms. 5, ff. 122v-125r, and *E-Bbc* M. 681, ff. 34v-35r, both with no attribution; this latter source, *E-Bbc* M. 681, also includes the anonymous motets *Resurgens Christus* at ff. 35v-36r, found in *P-Cug* MM 12, ff. 189v-190r, MM 32, ff. 19v-20r, and *P-Ln* CIC 60, ff. 22v-24r, and *Exultemus et laetemur* at ff. 37v-38r, found in *P-Cug* MM 32, ff. 94v-95r. The presence of Pastrana's *Domine, memento mei* in *P-Cug* MM 7 is not noted in *Pedro de Pastrana (c.1495-1563): Antología polifónica*, edición y estudio Maricarmen Gómez Muntané (Valencia, Generalitat Valenciana - Institut Valencià de Cultura, 2019), which however reveals an additional concordance for this motet (although incomplete) in *E-PAbm* R.6829, ff. 58v-59r.

Briquet catalogue.⁴⁶ These are also the two principal types of watermark in *P-Cug* MM 242, a manuscript in open-score format dated by Owen Rees to c.1565-c.1570.⁴⁷ However, it should be stressed that, unless we find an exact match in a dated paper, the evidence of similitude in watermarks lacks precision and can only be used as a clue, even if often a valuable one.

3) The binding, which is certainly the original—since the whole volume was obviously made up before copying began and there are no signs of it having been rebound—, is certainly datable to the third quarter, possibly the later half, of the 16th century, but not earlier than around 1560.⁴⁸

As Owen Rees rightly proposed, the original layer of Lisbon 60 was most probably copied by a Portuguese scribe, as a private anthology, from Coimbra-related sources, in the same orbit as the manuscripts from the Augustinian monastery of Santa Cruz.⁴⁹ It was then possibly located in a Cistercian monastery early in its history, given the fact that the series of chants and texts added on ff. 55v-60r under the general heading ‘Ordo ad inumandum fratrem mortuum’ is taken from the Cistercian ritual.⁵⁰ By the mid 1830s, the manuscript was in private hands and, if the person named on f. 1r, Joaquim Pessoa da Silva Arnaut, is accurately identified, it was probably in the vicinity of Coimbra. It should be noted that this Joaquim had a brother, António, who was abbot of the parish church of Santa Eulália in Arouca, thus providing a link to a Cistercian monastery.⁵¹ Contrary to Rees’s hypothesis of the origin of this manuscript in the monastery of São Vicente de Fora,⁵² it was apparently never in Lisbon until Manuel Ivo Cruz acquired it, a few years before he sold his private collection to the National Library of Portugal in 1971.

⁴⁶ *The New Briquet*, Jubilee edition, edited by Allan Stevenson (Amsterdam, The Paper Publications Society - Labarre Foundation, 1968), no. 10831, no. 13999, and no. 14013, respectively. Also in the *Briquet Online* at <http://www.ksbm.oaaw.ac.at/_scripts/php/BR.php> (accessed 30 December 2017).

⁴⁷ On this manuscript, see REES, *Polyphony in Portugal* (see note 2), pp. 8, and 325-64. See also Filipe Mesquita de OLIVEIRA, ‘A génese do tento para instrumentos de tecla no testemunho dos manuscritos *P-Cug* MM 48 e MM 242’ (PhD dissertation, Universidade de Évora, 2011), chapter 2.

⁴⁸ See Maria Margarida Faria Ribeiro da Cunha de Castro SEIXAS, ‘A encadernação manuelina, a consagração de uma arte: Estudo das suas características e evolução, em bibliotecas públicas portuguesas’ (PhD dissertation, Universidad de Salamanca, 2011), pp. 284 and 474, where two early exemplars of similar bindings (classed as ‘Renaissance-type’) over prints dated 1554 and 1561, respectively, are presented; the binding over the copy of the print referred to in note 50 below is also of the same type.

⁴⁹ REES, ‘Manuscript Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, CIC 60’ (see note 20), pp. 57-64.

⁵⁰ See, for instance, the *Ordo ad invngendum infirmum & ad communicandum Atque ad mortuum sepeliendum. Secundum Cisterciensis ordinis consuetudinem* (Conimcricae[sic], Excudebat Ioannes Aluarus, 1555), ff. B[i]-E[iij]^v, copy in *P-Cug* R-2-29, digitized at <<https://digitalis-dsp.uc.pt/bg6/UCBG-R-2-29/globalItems.html>> (accessed 30 December 2017).

⁵¹ References to both Joaquim and António Pessoa da Silva Arnaut appear in Joaquim Martins de CARVALHO, *Os assassinos da Beira: Novos apontamentos para a historia contemporanea* (Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1890), p. 250, regarding facts which allegedly occurred in 1835. António is also named in the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 18 (21 January, 1833), p. 86, as a donator of goods to the field hospital ‘da Formiga’, installed in the Convent of the Hermits of St. Augustine in Ermesinde, after it being occupied by the Absolutist troops of D. Miguel during the siege of Oporto in 1832-3.

⁵² To which I contributed by pointing out circumstantial evidence; see REES, ‘Manuscript Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, CIC 60’ (see note 20), pp. 62-3, and n. 28.

Appendix III

An edition of the three extant versions of *Passame por dios barquero**E-Mp* Ms. II-1335, f. ccxxxij

[PEDRO DE] ESCOBAR

[Tiple]

1. Pa - sa - me por dios var - que - ro da - que - sa par - te
 4. No quie - ras mi per - di - ción, pues en tu bon - dad

The first system of the musical score features three staves: Tiple (top), Tenor (middle), and Contra (bottom). The Tiple staff is in 3/4 time and has a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The Tenor and Contra staves are in 3/4 time and have a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The lyrics are written below the Tiple staff.

del rí - o, dué - le - te del do - lor mí - o.
 con - fi - o,

The second system of the musical score continues the three staves. The lyrics are written below the Tiple staff.

2. Que si pue - nes di - la - ción en ve - nir a so - cor - rer - me,
 3. no po - drás des - pués va - ler me, se - gún mi gra - ve pa - sión.

The third system of the musical score continues the three staves. The lyrics are written below the Tiple staff.

P-Em Ms. 11973, ff. 95v-96r

[Tiple]

[Tenor]

[Bassus]

1. Pas - sa - me por dios bar - que - ro da - quel - la par - te
4. No quie - ras mi per - di - ción, pues en tu bon - dad

8

del rí - o, dué - le - te del a - mor mí - o

15

2. Que sí po - nes di - la - ción en ve - nir a so - cor - rer - me,
3. no po - drás des - pués va - ler me, se - gún cre - ce mi pas - sión

P-Ln CIC 60, ff. 39v-40r

[Tiple]

[Tenor]

[Bassus]

1. Pas - sa - me por dios bar - que - ro da - quel - la par - te
4. No que - ras mi per - di - ción, pues en tu bon - dad

8

del ri - o, dué - le - te del do - lor mí - o.
con - fi - o,

15

2. Que si pue - nes di - la - ción en ve - nir a so - cor -
3. non po - drás des - pués va - ler - me, se - gún cres - ce mi pas -

22

rer - me, sión.

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